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The Metamorphosis of Maoriland;

or,

How Colonization became possible in
New Zealand.

By MAJOR-GENERAL H. SCHAW, C.B

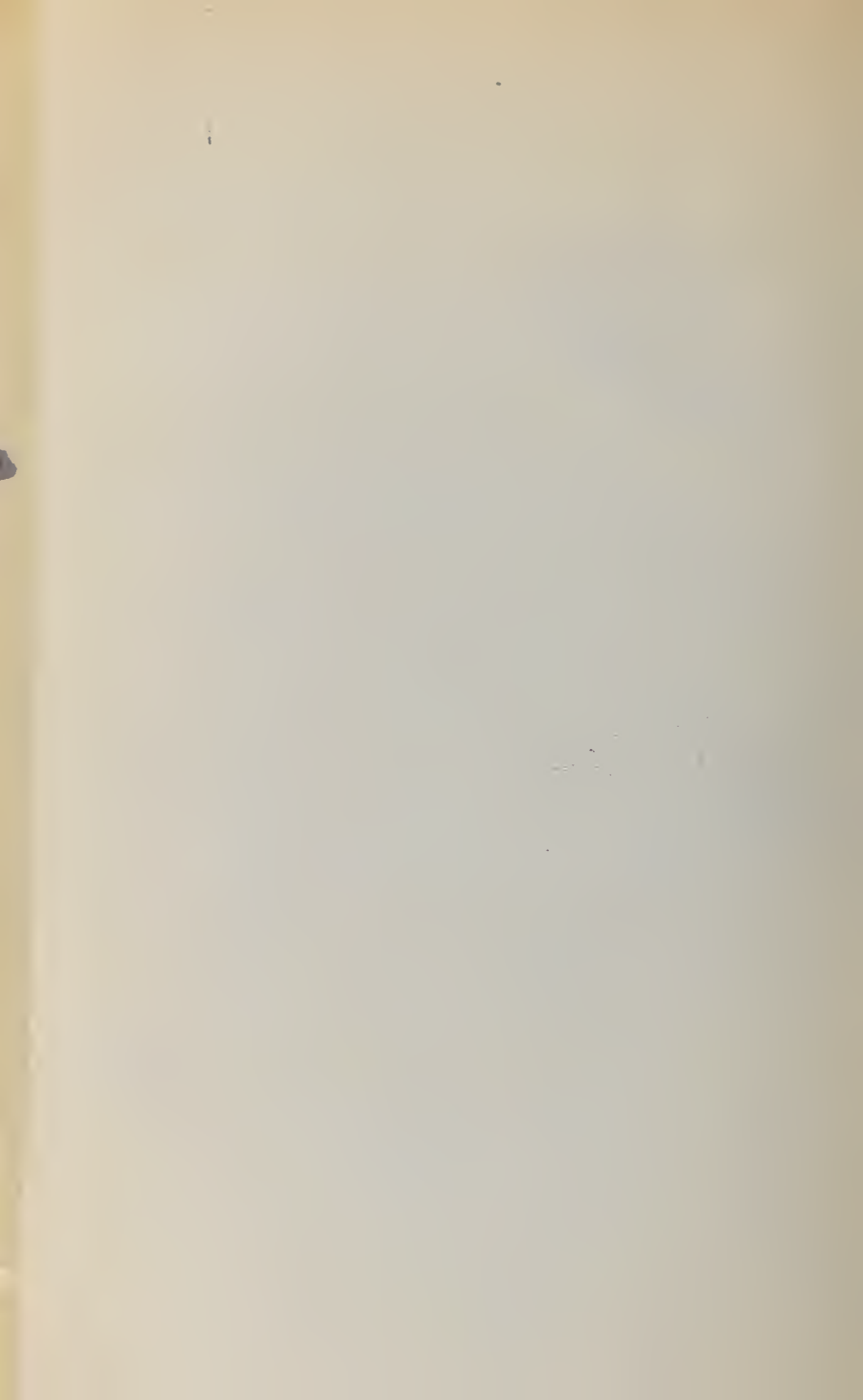


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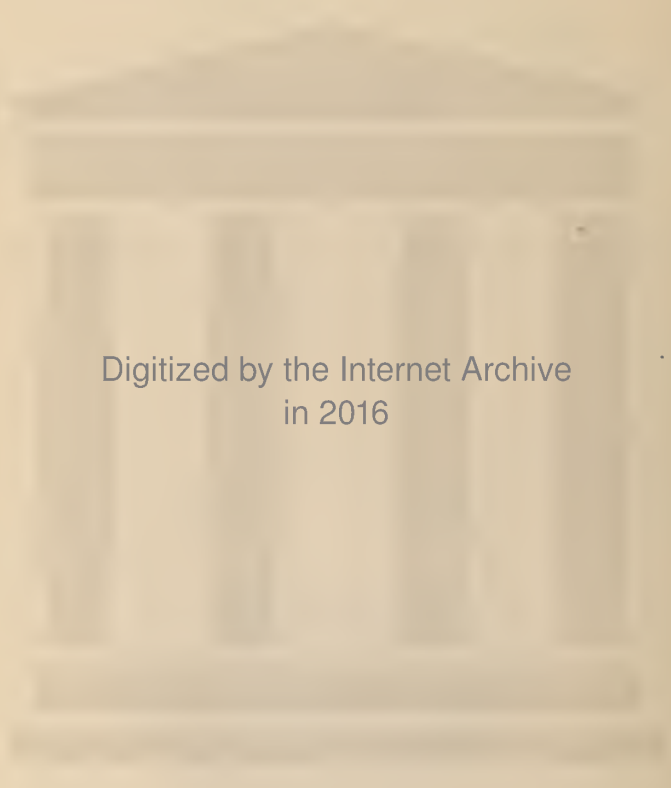
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THE METAMORPHOSIS OF MAORILAND.

In order that the present generation of colonists in New Zealand, may have some knowledge of the circumstances under which New Zealand became a British Colony, and of the leading part which the Church Missionary Society took in opening up New Zealand to colonisation (although that was not the object of the Society), the following brief history of Church Missionary work in New Zealand is herein given to the public. The writer who is but a comparatively late arrival in the Colony, was desirous of ascertaining what the Society had done, and what it was now doing for the Maori race, and in the course of his investigations it became evident that the Evangelization of the Maoris, mainly through the agency of this Society, was in reality the way in which colonization became possible; and, that as far as can now be seen, New Zealand would still be in the hands of ferocious cannibals, or possibly a conquered dependency of France, had it not been for the work of the Missionaries.*

Such appears to the writer to be the lesson to be learnt from the history, and that New Zealanders, both Maoris and colonists owe a deep debt of gratitude to that Society; but the facts must speak for themselves. These facts have been obtained from the various published histories of New Zealand, from the records of the Church Missionary Society, and from contemporary witnesses of some of the circumstances related.

* This view is by no means singular, it has been expressed by many men who had the best opportunities of judging. Three examples may suffice:—Captain Hobson, the first Governor, who had practical experience of the difficulties encountered in the initial steps of colonization, said "There can be no doubt that they (the Missionaries) have rendered important service to the country, or that, but for them a British Colony would not at this moment be established in New Zealand." Sir William Fox, who was politically opposed to the views of the Missionaries on the secular concerns of the native race, wrote "It is only fair to say, that, before systematic colonization commenced it (the character of the native race) had undergone a great change. The teachings of the Missionaries, if somewhat superficial, had penetrated to almost every part of the country. This, and the example of civilized life in the mission-homes, scattered over a large area, had done much to qualify the worst features of savage life, and to soften the ferocity of the Maori character." Sir George Grey in addressing a number of natives, amongst whom was Matene Te Whi Whi (nephew of Te Rauparaha), had spoken slightly of Archdeacon Henry Williams. Te Whi Whi replied, "I do not suppose *you* would ever have been here if To Wiremu (Williams) had not come to us first." The cause and the effect were evident in those days, we are apt to lose sight of them now.

Before entering on the history it may be well to state that although, as will be seen, the majority of the Maoris were at one time professing Christians, yet at the present time the Maoris do not all profess Christianity, still less are all influenced by its teachings. This falling away is due to many causes, national, political, and moral. It is a result which has occurred in other nations, and however much we may deplore it, we English cannot afford to cast a stone, looking at the past history and present condition of Christianity amongst ourselves. Nevertheless a vast change has come over the Maori nation, who are no longer a ferocious race of cannibal savages, if brave, intelligent, and in many ways noble, as they always were; but they are now peaceful citizens of a British Colony—some of them successful farmers and men of business—some holding high positions in the Government of the Colony—many of them consistent Christians. This surprising change is mainly due to the efforts of the Church Missionary Society, in consequence of which the bulk of the nation renounced their heathen beliefs and customs and embraced Christianity.

The original character of the Maoris was extremely warlike and savage. When the Dutch navigator, Tasman discovered and named New Zealand in 1642, he endeavoured to land, but was repulsed with such determined hostility by the natives that he abandoned the attempt. Apparently no Europeans visited these shores again until 1769, when Captain Cook re-discovered the islands, and by his great tact, good discipline, and kindness succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Maoris. Six of the natives were killed, through a misunderstanding, on his first approach, but there was no further fighting; and he greatly benefited them by introducing pigs, potatoes, turnips, and cabbages.

According to Maori traditions their ancestors came from Hawaiki and the affinities of their language with those of Polynesia gives support to this tradition, which also affirms that they were not then cannibals.

Their religion contained within its traditions a belief in the origin of mankind from one pair, the introduction of death into the world through the deceptions of their great hero Maui, and a legend of something like the deluge. But its main characteristic was the fear of *atuas*, or malignant spirits, including those of their departed ancestors, the constant object of which was believed to be to injure them. They had priests, or *tohungas*, who in many cases were chiefs, and everything connected with the *tohungas*, or priests, was *tapu*, or sacred. This gave them a very great and arbitrary power, with which the Missionaries had long to contend before it was broken down by the light of Christianity. They believed in a future life of retribution, and the Northern Cape, Reinga, was the leaping place whence departed spirits were supposed to leap into the other world. Their religion, as a whole, was a hopeless, loveless dread of physical suffering and disaster; their life, one of constant inter-tribal wars, arising from blood feuds or lust of conquest, and resulting in slavery and cannibal feasts. There was no security for life or for property.

After Captain Cooke's visits, whalers began to frequent New Zealand, and a trade sprung up with the colony of New South Wales. The men engaged in these operations were however for the most part dissolute and unprincipled, and their conduct and example were very injurious. Acts of bad faith on the part of these Europeans led to retaliation by the Maoris, and the history of this early European intercourse with New Zealand is, to a great extent, a record of deceit, immorality, cruelty, and bloodshed. The Maoris came to be looked on as blood-thirsty savages, and their country as therefore inaccessible to European colonists.*

In 1793, however, Captain King, then Lieutenant-Governor in Norfolk Island, wished to introduce useful industries amongst the convicts there; and, with this end in view, he obtained the services of two Maoris named Tohi and Hura to teach the convicts how to work flax.† In this way these two natives came under the observation of the convict chaplain, Samuel Marsden. He was so much struck by their intelligence that he became deeply interested in the Maori race, and formed the resolution to endeavour to raise them from their state of degradation. Shortly after he met at Sydney and became friendly with a Maori chief named Te Pahi, who, with his four sons, had worked his passage in a sailing vessel to Sydney. Mr. Marsden taught him something of Christianity, and showed him some of the advantages of civilisation, and Te Pahi gladly agreed to assist him in enlightening his countrymen.

In 1807 Mr. Marsden visited England, and laid the case before the Church Missionary Society, who warmly took up his project of sending the Gospel to the Maoris. They deemed it advisable to combine with religious teaching, education also in useful arts, and to this end they selected two artisans—able, industrious, and godly men—to be the pioneer Missionaries to New Zealand. These men were William Hall, a carpenter, who also understood something of navigation and ship-building; and John King, a shoemaker, who was conversant with flax-dressing and rope-making, and knew something of agriculture.

Mr. Marsden, with his two Missionaries, embarked for Australia again in 1809. He shortly afterwards discovered that one of the sailors was a Maori, Ruatara by name, and a nephew of his old friend Te Pahi. Ruatara was an enterprising young man, and his experiences had hitherto been rather trying. He had first engaged as a sailor on board a whaler, from which he had been discharged at Sydney, after twelve months' service, defrauded of his wages. He engaged again, however, on board another whaler commanded by an honest man, who paid him off after a six months' cruise. He then engaged a third time on board a vessel bound for England, having a great desire to see King George. On board this ship he was brutally treated, and at length

* Some daring and hardy men had indeed resided in New Zealand, but Judge Manings' book, "Old New Zealand," gives a vivid picture of the hardships and dangers of the life they led. Under such conditions colonisation was evidently out of the question.

† These men, through a misunderstanding, were kidnapped by a British man-of-war; Captain King honourably sent them home with presents, and an explanation of the mistake.

discharged, without wages, in London ; and he was sadly working his way home when he providentially was discovered by Mr. Marsden. On reaching Sydney they found that a trading vessel, the "Boyd," had been attacked by the Maoris, taken and burnt, and the crew had been killed and eaten. Another trader in revenge had attacked another Maori village, the inhabitants of which, as it turned out, were quite unconnected with, and innocent of the crime. Of this village the chief was Te Pahi, and he and all his people had been killed.

These circumstances had caused so much excitement and ill-feeling that it was evidently impossible at that time to commence the Mission ; but Ruatara undertook to visit New Zealand and, if possible, open a way for the Missionaries. He was absent for more than a year, when he returned to Mr. Marsden to tell him that the captain of a trader, with whom he had engaged to take him to New Zealand, had deceived and ill-treated him, and had not taken him to New Zealand at all.

After about seven years of delays and difficulties Ruatara at length reached his home in 1813, well provided by Mr. Marsden with seeds, plants, and agricultural tools. He had many prejudices and difficulties to overcome, but at length he was able to send a message to Mr. Marsden to say that the Missionaries would be cordially welcomed.

Mr. Marsden then purchased the brig "Active," and at first sent, on a preliminary visit, Hall and Kendall (another agent sent out from England). Their report was favourable, and Marsden, with Hall, King, Kendall, and their families, embarked in the "Active" and landed at Whangaroa on the 18th December, 1814 ; thence they went on to the Bay of Islands, where on Christmas Day Mr. Marsden preached the first Christian sermon to the Maoris, on Luke II., 10 : "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy."

It should be mentioned that during the voyage, while the brig was becalmed off the Cavalli Islands, between Whangaroa and the Bay of Islands, Marsden heard that a large body of the tribe who had captured the "Boyd" and eaten the crew were encamped close by. He felt that it was of great importance to establish friendly relations with them, and determined to visit them. Ruatara, knowing the ferocity of these men, tried to dissuade him, but finding that he could not do so, bravely and generously undertook to accompany him. They were rather doubtfully received by a war-dance ; then there was friendly talk ; but as no treaty of peace had been arrived at before night, Marsden boldly decided on passing the night in their midst. The brave, but savage men respected the courage of their visitors, and the chiefs eventually agreed to leave unmolested the Missionary settlement which was about to be established at the Bay of Islands, and, further, they agreed to make peace with the chief of the Bay of Islands tribe. The early days of the Mission at the Bay of Islands were saddened by the sudden illness and death of the fine young chief Ruatara, who had so greatly aided the Mission. He had received the good news of the Christian faith with joy, but had not yet been able to break entirely with heathen superstitions, and he baptized as a

Christian. The influence of the *Tohungas* prevented him from taking the food or medicines needed for his recovery, and so he sank and died, and the Mission severely felt the loss of his friendly support. Marsden was obliged to return to his own work in Sydney as soon as he had seen his little band of pioneers settled. They had to work for their own living while trying to teach the natives, and for a long time this Mission work was very up-hill and discouraging. Their goods were stolen, they were maltreated, and constantly threatened with death to furnish a cannibal feast; but by patience and courageous perseverance, little by little they gained a beneficial influence over their neighbours, whose language they had now learnt. A chief named Hongi, uncle to Ruatara, came under the influence of Marsden during his first visit to New Zealand, and through his aid another Mission station was established in 1819 at Keri Keri at the head of the bay to extend the Missionary field, and the Rev. J. Butler, with Hall and Kemp were located there. In 1820, Hongi with another chief—Waikato—visited England in company with Mr. Kendall, who was ordained there. They resided for some time at Cambridge, and Professor Lee was able to fix the orthography and grammar of the Maori tongue, which had previously been entirely a spoken language without any *literature*.

Hongi, however, conceived the desire to obtain victory and power by the use of English weapons. He converted all the presents that were given to him into guns and powder, and on his return to New Zealand waged savage war with his neighbours. This aggravated the dangers and privations of the Missionaries, and no progress seemed to be made, although the numbers of the Mission had been increased by other mechanics.

In a very remarkable way Hongi's wars led eventually to the extension of the Missionaries' work. He brought back numerous slaves from the tribes he had conquered; some of these were allowed to work on the Mission premises, payment being made to their owners. They attended the Christian schools, and in their depressed state were no doubt more open to good impressions than their conquerors. At length through Missionary influence they obtained their liberty and returned to their homes, carrying with them some knowledge of Christianity and Christian books, which they had learned to read, and so the light spread.

At length both Marsden and the Church Missionary Society were convinced that the experience of Tahiti was being repeated in New Zealand, and that the arts of civilization had little influence in making a way for the gospel, although they had been of marked assistance in establishing a first friendly footing on the Maori shore. In 1822 a decided policy of direct evangelization, without any mixture, of education in the arts of civilization, was decided on. In that year the Rev. Henry Williams (afterwards archdeacon and previously an officer who had served with distinction in the Royal Navy) was sent out, and in 1825 his brother the Rev. William Williams (afterwards Bishop of Wiapu); these two noble and excellent men brought a new spirit into

the New Zealand Mission, and they were followed by a number of ordained Missionaries of the same stamp.

In 1825 the first Christian Maori openly professed his faith and was baptized by the Rev. Henry Williams. He was a chief named "Rangi," changed to "Christian" at his baptism. In the course of the year 1827 a church was built to meet the needs of the large numbers who assembled to hear the word of God. The Rev. Henry Williams, with the aid of the Europeans and natives, built and launched a Mission vessel of 55 tons, the *Herald*, which proved very useful, both for communication between the Mission stations for extending the Missionary work and for procuring supplies from Sydney. The *Herald* was wrecked at Hokianga, and a smaller vessel was subsequently built, in which numerous coasting voyages were made by the Rev. Henry Williams, enduring great hardships and dangers in his Missionary work. During this period the Mission had many difficulties to contend with, the natives constantly forcing their way into the Mission premises and taking whatever they fancied. The patience, courage, and force of character of the Rev. Henry Williams gradually overcame this trial, and he obtained great respect and influence.

In 1826 a company was formed, which made an attempt to settle colonists in the Islands. In November of that year a vessel full of intended settlers put into the Thames; but the ferocious appearance and conduct of the natives there deterred them from landing, and they proceeded to the Bay of Islands where some of them landed unmolested. Others went on to Hokianga; but this attempt at colonization was not successful.

In 1827 the chief Hongi made one of his raids to the northwards of the Bay of Islands, and having conquered a tribe under whose protection a Wesleyan Mission had been established at Whangaroa, the Mission station was plundered according to Maori custom, and the Missionaries were forced to leave, although they were protected from personal injury. They took refuge for a time with the Church Missionaries at Paihia; afterwards another Wesleyan station was founded near Hokianga. In this war Hongi was wounded, and in 1828 he died. Ambitious and warlike as he was, he protected the Missionaries, and his last directions were "Be kind to the Missionaries, for they do much good and do no harm."

After Hongi's death opposing chiefs who had quarrelled agreed to ask the Missionaries to arbitrate between them. Mr. Henry Williams accordingly set out with three other Missionaries and a few friendly natives, who were under their teaching, to endeavour to make peace. He and his small party were unarmed, and carried their lives in their hands. They reached the Hokianga valley, the theatre of war, on a Saturday, and Mr. Williams interviewed the chiefs on both sides and persuaded them to observe Sunday as a day of peace. He hoisted a white flag on the battle-field on the Sunday and conducted a religious service with his party, both hostile camps attending as witnesses and audience. His mediation was successful, and he had

the satisfaction of securing peace between these tribes. On many other occasions he mediated between hostile tribes, in his various Missionary journeys, and often with partial or complete success. Peace-making was indeed a very principal part of the work of all the Missionaries, both Church and Wesleyan.

About 1827 Mr. Davis had brought back with him from Sydney some portions of the bible and some Christian hymns, printed in Maori. Those who had learnt to read prized these greatly, and by their means the Christian religion was more widely made known.

In 1829 a chief "Taiwanga," formerly a great warrior and cannibal, applied to have his children baptized as Christians, and shortly after he was himself baptized, together with a Maori named Pita and his wife, who had worked at the Mission station.

In 1830 another Mission station was opened at Waimate, about 10 miles inland from the Bay of Islands. At this time also some additional portions of the Bible were printed in Maori and circulated.

In 1831 Tauranga and Rotorua were visited; but the districts were too disturbed at that time to allow of Missions being planted there; the good work, however, had so far advanced in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands that 20 adults and 10 children had been baptized, and some of the adults had become communicants.

In February, 1830, the Rev. Samuel Marsden paid his sixth visit to the Mission which he had founded, and which had now begun to bear good fruit, after thirty years of anxious effort on his part, and sixteen years of patient, courageous Missionary work amongst the Maoris by the men whom he had been instrumental in placing there. He arrived at a critical time, for a new war amongst the Maori tribes near the Bay of Islands had broken out. As soon as the news of his arrival reached the combatants, they invited him to act as mediator. He at once responded, and although fighting was still going on, he fearlessly went between the hostile parties, and after some days negotiation succeeded in making peace.

The war was on the east side of the bay, where all were in savage excitement and fighting bitterly. At the Missionary station of Pailhia on the west side of the bay, not more than two miles distant, the Christianized natives were quietly working, and in the evenings assembling for religious instruction; on Sunday they met together for worship, clean, quiet, and orderly.

As this is the last time but one that the Rev. Samuel Marsden visited the Maori Mission, it is desirable that a short account of this apostle of New Zealand should be given. He was originally a working blacksmith in Yorkshire; but having early in life become an earnest Christian, he set his heart on becoming a minister of the Gospel. While working at the forge he studied Latin, and after some preliminary education at his village school, and the Free Grammar School at Hull, he was adopted by the Elland Society, and sent to St. John's College, Cambridge, and while studying there was offered and accepted an appointment as chaplain to the convicts in New South Wales. How he became interested in the Maoris has already been

related. He made it the great object of his life to raise this noble race from the degradation into which they had fallen, by the power of Christianity; and his faithful pertinacity was eventually rewarded, although he did not himself live to see the full result of his work. His parsonage at Paramatta was always open to the Maoris who went over to Sydney—sometimes his hospitality was extended to as many as 30 at a time—a heavy tax on purse and convenience which he never grudged. In 1837 he paid his seventh and last visit to New Zealand; he was then 72 years of age, and was no longer able to travel about on foot as he had formerly done, but the Christian natives carried him from village to village in a litter, a self-elected bodyguard of 70 men accompanying him. Heathens and Christians alike welcomed him, and preaching the Gospel wherever he went, and once more assisting in making peace between contending parties, he concluded a six months' tour by a cruise to Cook's Straits, and back to Sydney, where he died in 1838, after 45 years of earnest and fruitful work in New South Wales and New Zealand.

Hitherto the work of Evangelization had been confined to the northern part of the North Island, where Christianity had been largely embraced from Kaitaia to the Firth of Thames and Tauranga. The way in which the work spread southward is so remarkable that it must be somewhat fully related. In the whole work portions of the Bible, translated and printed in Maori, had been greatly instrumental. The natives evinced a great desire to learn to read, and were very quick in learning. The knowledge was imparted by one to another, and soon the demand for portions of Scripture and Christian hymns became greater than could readily be supplied.

A Mission station had been established at Mata Mata, inland from Tauranga; there a young man, "Ngakuku," who had been renowned as a warrior, heard the Gospel, embraced it, and became a Christian. During a tribal war in the vicinity he, with some others, removed the Mission property to Tauranga for greater safety. On their return journey they were surprised at night, and although most of them escaped in the bush, "Ngakuku's" little daughter, who was with him, was murdered, and a copy of the Gospel of St. Luke, belonging to him or her, was taken with the rest of their property by the murderers. This copy of the Gospel was carried, it is not known how, to the neighbourhood of Cook's Straits. At that time the dominant warrior chief in this neighbourhood was "Rauparaha" who, like Hongi in the north, had fought his way to pre-eminence, and had carried his conquests across Cook's Straits to the north of the Middle Island. He had a young son named Katu, a daring youth who had learned to disbelieve in his father's gods, but had no further light. Meeting a Maori named Ripahau, who had been a slave, enfranchised by the influence of the Missionaries, and who had returned to his own tribe, he learnt from him that a friend of his had a book which told of the God of the English. This book he bought in exchange for some mats and tobacco. It turned out to be the copy of St. Luke's Gospel, taken from "Ngakuku" or his little daughter, as the name *Ngakuku* was

written on the title page. Ripahau could read, having learnt at the Mission School at the Bay of Islands. Katu determined to learn to read himself, and he and a cousin—Te Whiwhi—hired Ripahau as their teacher, and the three spent six months at his father's island of Kapiti, by the end of which time Katu and Te Whiwhi had not only learnt to read, but had also become believers in Jesus Christ, and on their return to the main land began to teach Christianity to their neighbours. Finding, however, that they themselves wanted more teaching, they succeeded in reaching the Bay of Islands in an American vessel, and applied to the Rev. Henry Williams to send them a Missionary. He had no one to send, but passed them on to his brother, the Rev. W. Williams, at Waimate. He, too, was unable at first to find a Missionary to send south; but, most opportunely, a new Missionary who had arrived from England about a year previously, the Rev. O. Hadfield (now Bishop and Primate), hearing of the desire of the southern tribe for instruction offered himself for the work, though still imperfectly acquainted with the language and strange to the country. This was decided upon, and the Rev. Henry Williams went with him to settle him in. Thus Katu and Te Whiwhi returned joyfully with two Missionaries. At Waikanae, opposite Kapiti Island, some 1,200 Maoris assembled to welcome them. They found that Ripahau, who had taught Katu and Te Whiwhi to read, had himself become a believer, and had been continuing the work begun by his pupils before they sailed for the Bay of Islands; the result being that multitudes were enquiring about Christianity, and that they had erected a Church for the expected Missionary. Within six months after his arrival Mr. Hadfield was able to baptize some twenty converts, including Katu, Te Whiwhi, and Ripahau.* Katu, or Tamihana as he was christened, became a most zealous and successful Evangelist, carrying the Gospel into the districts of the Middle Island, which had been ravaged by his father in his wars. He studied for a time in St. John's College, Auckland, and succeeded in civilizing his tribe very greatly, inducing them to build good houses and to keep cattle. His old father, Rauparaha, entered heartily into the son's improvements, and himself attended school, and became a Christian before his death, although his knowledge was not considered sufficient to justify his baptism. Mr. Hadfield finally settled at Otaki, which became the centre of Missionary work in the Wellington province.

When in January, 1840, the first settlers brought by the new New Zealand Company landed at Wellington, they found the natives professing Christians, although they had had no Missionary among them. The light had spread through the circulated scriptures and native agency, many of the natives who had been instructed at the Bay of Islands having found their way there.

In 1839 a new Mission station at Turanga, Poverty Bay, was

* At the time of this visit the Rev. H. Williams had the satisfaction of making peace at Waikanae between the Ngatiawa, under Wiremu Kingi, and the Ngatiraukawa of Otaki. He then walked back, *via* Wanganui and Taupo, to Tauranga, and everywhere he was welcomed and was asked for Christian teachers and Christian books.

opened by the Rev. W. Williams. The Gospel was now making rapid progress amongst the Maori race in all directions, the good news, and the books containing it, with the art of reading being passed on from one to another; one of the greatest benefits which the Missionaries conferred upon the Maori race was the translation of the Bible into their language. It was an arduous undertaking, and it occupied many years, yet in the end the translation is acknowledged by the Maoris themselves, and the best Maori scholars, to be a singularly perfect work, and one which, like our English Bible, forms a typical standard of pure Maori, free from vulgarisms, and yet clearly to be understood by all. Many were engaged upon the work, Wesleyan as well as Church Missionaries; but the two men whose scholarship and steady application brought the work to perfection were the Rev. W. Williams and the Rev. R. Maunsell.

The first portions printed as early as 1824 were comparatively imperfect; but by constant, careful revisions and additions, the whole was completed in 1836. The English prayer-book, a book of hymns, and a number of elementary religious and historical books, were also translated into Maori and published and circulated. The Maoris rapidly acquired the art of reading, and thus the truths of Christianity reached the people in all parts of the land, even where Missionaries had not yet penetrated.

But now that the work of the Missionaries had made the Maoris willing to receive Europeans on a friendly footing, European colonists began to pour into the country. Amongst them were some who brought with them a spirit of lawlessness and immorality. Adventurers persuaded the then simple-minded Maoris to sell them large tracts of land for a few blankets or muskets, and made large fortunes by reselling the land in portions to settlers. Anarchy and confusion prevailed, and the state of things became so bad that it was decided to annex the Islands to the British Empire, and introduce a settled government. In 1840 the treaty of Waitangi was signed by 512 chiefs, who surrendered their sovereignty to the Queen, under the conditions that their liberties and rights as British subjects were assured to them, and that their lands should not be alienated. Captain Hobson was appointed the first governor, and New Zealand was proclaimed a British Colony. Then began the full stream of colonization, which has resulted in the New Zealand of to-day, by the energy and enterprise of the colonists.

It is not proposed in this pamphlet to give a history of this colonization, with the wars and disputes which occurred in its early days, but only to trace briefly the further work of the Church Missionary Society and the history of Christianity amongst the Maoris.

At the time of the establishment of a British Government in New Zealand, the number of Maoris who professed themselves Christians was not less than 30,000, who attended the Church of England worship; in addition to a considerable number of Wesleyan Congregations (in 1855, they numbered 7,590), and a small number of Roman Catholics. In 1841 George Augustus Selwyn was consecrated the

first Bishop of New Zealand (one-half of his salary being paid by the Church Missionary Society), and a few months after he had landed he was so impressed by what he saw that he said, "We see here a whole nation of Pagans converted to the Faith."

At this time the most remarkable progress occurred on the East Coast, from the East Cape southwards, where the natives were rapidly becoming wholly Christian under the teaching of the Rev. William Williams, the converts being numbered by thousands. At Otaki valuable work was being done by Rev. O. Hadfield; and the Rev. R. Taylor on the Wanganui River had very remarkable success.

So earnest and faithful were the Wanganui Christians that in 1846, at the Christmas gathering for Christian worship, two chiefs volunteered to go and preach the Gospel to a hostile and still heathen tribe. They went, with the prayers of their people, but were cruelly murdered, on account of an old blood feud between the tribes. At a similar gathering in 1848 there was the counter-attraction of horse races got up by the English troops at which some 700 of these were present, but to their surprise very few Maoris. The Maoris to the number of 2,000 were at public worship, 710 partaking of the Holy Communion.

The public excitement in connection with the question of the acquisition of land from the natives, led to enquiries as to the lands acquired by the Church Missionary Society and the Missionaries. It was alleged that the latter had obtained large tracts of land from the natives, and that this was a cause of grievance to the natives and the settlers. The Church Missionary Society, guided by the governor and the bishop, directed the Missionaries to give up their lands. Most of the Missionaries, and notably the Rev. H. Williams as the senior Missionary, declined to do so, showing that the land had been paid for by themselves at its full value long before colonization had been thought of; that the previous Governor, after full enquiry by Crown Commissioners, had issued Crown grants for the land; that the land was needed to maintain their children, for whom it had been acquired, and that to give up the land would be to admit they had acted wrongfully, while they knew they had done what was just and right, and that the natives supported them in their possession.* The Church Missionary Society, for a time, severed connection with the Rev. H. Williams; but, subsequently, being convinced of his integrity, and that they had misunderstood the circumstances, he was fully reinstated as a Missionary of the Society. All this is alluded to because incorrect versions of the facts have been spread abroad, and it is only right that the characters of these good men, who devoted their lives to the evangelization of the Maoris, should be cleared from this aspersion. It is sometimes brought against the Missionaries that the descendants of some of them are now wealthy colonists. If they are,

* Although convinced of the injustice of the demand, Mr. Williams offered to give up the Crown grants, if the accusations made against the character of the Missionaries by the Governor were either substantiated or withdrawn. Of this offer no notice was taken.

it is due to their own energy and hard work in the early days of colonial history, not to any unjust acquisition of land from the Maoris by their Missionary fathers.

In 1839 when Mr. Henry Williams was on his way with Mr. Hadfield to the new field of labour at Waikanae and Otaki, they had to put into Port Nicholson. There Mr. Williams met some of his old Bay of Islands natives, who had carried the knowledge of the gospel to the South. From one of them, Richard Davis, who owned a block of land of about 60 acres, in what is now the Thorndon Ward of Wellington, he learned that Colonel Wakefield, for the New Zealand Company, had bought up all the land in the vicinity from the natives, but that he had objected to sell as he saw there would be no land left for the Maoris. He then thought of selling his land and going to Taranaki where his wife had relatives. Mr. Williams thinking that it might be useful as a Mission station, bought the land from Davis; but told him to continue to reside on it with his people.*

The following year, being asked by the Government to obtain the signatures of the chiefs to the treaty of Waitangi, Mr. Williams again visited Wellington. He found there was much irritation on account of the block of land he had purchased, as it was in the best part of the township—he was informed also that native reserves had been set apart—and he was offered money for the block, which was then valued at £10,000. Now of course it is very much more valuable. He refused any payment, but freely gave the block to the colonists, as he saw it was wanted for the town, and he believed the statement that native reserves had been provided, which apparently, however, was not strictly true. One acre he reserved for Richard Davis, one for himself, which he gave as part endowment of a church at Pakaraka. It is only right that such disinterested and generous conduct should be kept on record, as those ignorant of the facts have found fault, where only praise was due. It should also be generally known that it was solely due to the exertions and influence of the Rev. H. Williams, that Auckland was saved from destruction in 1845 at the time of the war with Hone Heke at Korororeka. Mr. Williams assembled the chiefs of the disturbed natives and explained again the treaty of Waitangi, which is their Magna Charta. A number of influential chiefs were thus persuaded to oppose Heke, and support the Government, which they faithfully did, and so prevented Heke from making his intended attack on Auckland. These circumstances are all fully recorded and attested in Carlton's Life of Henry Williams.

If Marsden was the original Apostle of New Zealand, pre-eminent amongst the noble band of Missionaries was Archdeacon Henry Williams. Missionary work has well been termed the Chivalry of Christianity, and he was a true Christian Bayard, "*Sans peur et sans reproche.*" Yet, as so often happens to great men, he was the object of virulent abuse, and was accused of all manner of evil. He lived down this clamour, and maintained his integrity, which eventually

* The natives did not occupy the block of land themselves, nor would they allow the European colonists to do so. They held it for Mr. Williams.

was fully acknowledged; but to a man with his high feelings of honour, and loyalty, and truthfulness, the trial was very great. The monument erected by the Christian Maoris in his memory at Paihia has the following touching inscription (the inscription is, of course, in the Maori language—a translation only is here given):—

“A MEMORIAL
TO
HENRY WILLIAMS.

A TOKEN OF LOVE TO HIM FROM THE MAORI CHURCH.

He was a father indeed to all the tribes:

A man brave to make peace in the Maori wars.

FOR 44 YEARS HE SOWED THE GLAD TIDINGS IN THIS ISLAND.

HE CAME TO US IN THE YEAR 1823; HE WAS TAKEN

FROM US IN THE YEAR 1867.”

In the first Maori war in 1844–45, in which the chief Hone Heke was the Maori leader, and the theatre of which was near the Bay of Islands, the Missionaries and European settlers were well treated by the hostile Maoris, who fought with great gallantry, and without having recourse to any of their former savage customs. The fighting was between the British troops and certain tribes who had been led to believe that the treaty of Waitangi had been broken, and that the English intended to take their country and reduce them to serfdom. The tribes who assisted us believed the assurance of the Missionaries that good faith would be kept. Many of the natives on both sides were Christians. Hone Heke himself had been educated as a lad at the Mission School, and was a baptized Christian. His action was entirely patriotic, to preserve his nation from falling under the domination of foreigners; and chivalry, forbearance, and generosity were evinced by him and his followers in the course of the war to a very remarkable degree. Governor Grey at length brought the war to a conclusion by a happy mixture of vigour and kindness, and peace and good order were restored without any lasting bitterness between the races in this part of the country.

By his earnestness and courage, Mr. Hadfield obtained a great influence over the Maoris; so great that, in 1843, it saved Wellington from being sacked and burnt.

Mr. Swainson in his “New Zealand,” after describing the disastrous collision between the Colonists and the Maoris at the Wairau, in the Nelson district, in 1843, states that the chiefs Rauparaha and Rangihaeata crossed the straits and took post at Waikanae and Otaki. Anticipating retaliation by the English, they meditated an immediate attack on Wellington, which at that time was quite defenceless. This becoming known, Mr. Spain, commissioner of land claims, was deputed to interview the chiefs, and endeavour to come to an agreement with them. The negotiation failed, and Rauparaha endeavoured to persuade the Maoris that now was the time to attack the white

men, before they were prepared ; but he could not gain adherents, for, Mr. Swainson continues (p. 118), “happily for the peace of the country, the people of the district had for some time been living under the ministration of one of the most devoted and influential Missionaries in New Zealand ; and it is hardly too much to affirm that Wellington owed its safety at that moment to a single individual, the Reverend Octavius Hadfield.”

This statement is borne out by the following account kindly given to me by an eye-witness—H. S. Tiffen, Esq., of Napier :—“ In the autumn of 1843, the Maori chief Te Ahu Karamu of Ohau, about 7 miles north of Otaki, leased to myself and Mr. B. White a tract of land for cattle grazing. On the 12th June, Mr. W. Vavasour and I visited the station, and stayed until June 19th. At daylight our landlord came to us, and informed us that Rangihaeata had killed ‘Wide-awake,’ and all the *pakehas* at Wairau, and advised us to proceed at once to Wellington, as he would be powerless to protect us if the Otaki and Ohau natives joined Rangihaeata. We started at once, and on reaching Otaki found that Te Rauparaha and his people had crossed from Wairau in two canoes, and landed on a small islet in Otaki River ; and on the mainland was a large gathering of Maoris, with the Rev. O. Hadfield in their midst haranguing them. We asked of him whether it was safe for us to proceed, as not only had we to pass through Te Rauparaha’s camp on the islet, but should most likely fall in with Te Rangihaeata’s people, who had gone in two canoes to Porirua. His reply was, ‘Te Rauparaha has landed here to persuade my natives to join him and Te Rangihaeata in attacking Wellington, and slaughtering all the Europeans. If he is successful, we are none of us safe ; if I can keep my people from joining them, I think you will be able to get to Wellington ; but as the natives are in a very excited state, I cannot tell what may be the result of the meeting I am now holding.’ I have no hesitation in saying that, had it not been for the great influence he had over the Otaki and Ohau natives, not an European would have been left alive in Wellington on the night of the 20th June, 1843.”

It must be mentioned, however, that the favourable result was also in a large measure due to the friendly attitude of the Christian chief Wiremu Kingi, afterwards unfortunately forced into hostility against the British at Taranaki. He was then with his tribe—the Ngatiawa—near Otaki. Rauparaha at first tried to obtain his aid in his intended attack on Wellington, or at least to have an assurance of his neutrality. Wiremu Kingi refused to accede to either proposition, and told Rauparaha that if he attacked the English settlers he would oppose him with his whole force. Rauparaha then visited Otaki, as described by Mr. Tiffin, and having failed there also with the Ngatiraukawa he was obliged to relinquish his blood-thirsty design.

In the collision between the two races, which occurred in 1846, the scene was in the vicinity of Wellington, beginning in the Upper Hutt Valley and extending to Porirua. The origin was a dispute

about land which had been purchased and occupied without sufficient enquiry into the native rights of ownership. The hostile natives based their operations on a strong pah at Pauatahanui, the stronghold of Rangihaeata. Rauparaha, whose headquarters were at Porirua, professed friendship to the English Government, but was suspected of secret alliance with Rangihaeata. Eventually he was seized, and kept in honourable captivity. This diminished Rangihaeata's power of resistance, but at the same time made his hostility more bitter. Eventually, with the aid of friendly Christian natives under Wiremu Kingi te Rangitaake, he was driven out of the district with but few followers, and the local disturbance was quelled. The seizure of Rauparaha, however, bred distrust of the British Government, and led to much trouble afterwards; this distrust was increased by the hanging, by verdict of a hasty court-martial, of a young Christian chief who had been fighting on the side of his relative Rangihaeata, and had been taken prisoner.

About 1857 the Maoris, from patriotic motives, and believing that their race was not duly considered in the Administration of the country, initiated the "king movement," the primary idea being that they should elect one of their chiefs to be king amongst them, or chief paramount, not as against the British Crown, but to maintain law and order amongst themselves; and in 1858 the old chief Te Whero Whero was elected king, under the title of Potatau, chiefly through the influence of the Christian chief Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi, or Waharoa of Waikato, a man of very noble qualities. Mismanagement of Maori questions, especially those affecting land, ignorance of Maori customs, and misunderstanding amongst the Government officials, appear to have increased a growing feeling amongst the Maoris of distrust in the English, and a fatal error, relative to a land question at Taranaki, resulted in the second Maori war: a war which was even more far reaching and disastrous than its direct results in loss of life and property, for it led to an alienation of the mass of the natives from the English and from Christianity. The Missionaries who had hitherto been regarded as their best friends were now looked on with distrust as being of the same race as the pakelias, who were taking away their lands and rights; but Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi the "king-maker," although he was a leading spirit in the war which devastated the country from 1860 to 1866, always exerted his influence to conduct the Maori operations with Christian chivalry and moderation. In 1864 he made a great effort to obtain an honourable peace which, unfortunately, was not successful. In 1866 he died, professing the Christian faith. He had previously withdrawn from the contest, and exhorted his followers to peaceful and law-abiding conduct.

The influence of Mr. Taylor, the Church Missionary Society's Missionary, at Wanganui, was perhaps as marked as that of any of the other Church Missionaries. An instance of very practical Christianity on the part of Mawae, one of the Christian chiefs, who had learned the gospel from him is illustrative of the reality of this man's religion. Iwikau, a heathen chief of Taupo, made an expedition

to plunder the farms of the Christians at Wanganui; these under Mawae collected to defend their property, and they requested Mr. Taylor to go with them. Mawae said to Mr. Taylor, "Scripture tells us, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him,' therefore it is quite right to give food to these 200 who have come to attack us." Then, standing on a fallen tree in the centre of a patch of potatoes, he called out to Iwikau, "You shall not say I did not give you food. Take all the potatoes on your side of this tree; but do not presume to dig up a single potato on this side. I shall fire on the first man who makes the attempt." The potatoes so given were dug by Iwikau and his men who then departed in peace. In a similar spirit supplies of food were on several occasions given or allowed to pass, by the hostile natives to the British troops during the war.

The strange sect of the Hau Haus arose after the king movement and grew out of the Taranaki war. It was a practical reversion to heathenism, although mixed up with some superstitions of a debased Christianity. The leading idea of the originator "Te Ua," was to establish a religion for which the Maoris would feel under no obligation to the Pakeha. The number of Maoris who joined in this movement does not appear to have been very considerable, but amongst them were some who were very energetic and savage, and many lives were sacrificed before it was checked, and this was done mainly by the Christian natives themselves. An incident in this Hau Hau war, in which the Christian chief Hipango of Wanganui was a leading figure, must be related as giving another remarkable instance of the effect of Mr. Taylor's work in that district. Hipango was one of the first converts; he became a zealous and valuable teacher of Christianity; but he was also a brave and skilful commander in war, when war became necessary. In 1846 a raid was made on the few colonists at Wanganui, by a Maori chief Mamaku. Hipango and his men on this occasion defended the settlement until the arrival of British troops.

In 1847 a family of the name of Gilfillan, settlers on the outskirts of Wanganui, were murdered by some hostile natives. Hipango undertook to bring the murderers to justice. It was known that the party of murderers were six in number, and Hipango, with true Maori courage and chivalry, accordingly took only five of his own tribe with him, and followed them up the river, and eventually overtook and captured five of the murderers, whom they brought back with them to Wanganui through a hostile country, and delivered them over to justice. During the Hau Hau war in 1866, Hipango took the field against them, with a force of Christian natives. Having occupied a point which commanded the enemy's pah, the enemy sent out four men to lie in ambush and cut him off; Hipango however discovered them, took them prisoners, fed them, and sent them back. The next night the enemy prepared another ambush of ten men; they were also discovered, and treated in the same way. Hipango then called on them to surrender, saying he would not be the first to shed blood. Then the Hau Haus attacked. During the battle Hipango was mortally wounded, but was able to explain his plans to the next in command,

and to see them successfully carried out and the battle won. He was carried 60 miles back to Putiki, where this fine Christian soldier died.

It is a remarkable fact that in the early history of a Mission to a race of savages so regardless of human life as the Maoris, not a single case occurred of the murder of a Missionary. The Rev. Mr. Völkner, Church Missionary, and the Rev. J. Whiteley, Wesleyan fell both victims to the Hau Hau fanaticism; but in Mr. Völkner's case there was also an element of the heathen Maori law of "Utu," or revenge. It had come to Mr. Völkner's knowledge that a French Roman Catholic priest (Garavel) had been conveying letters from the hostile natives in the Waikato to the Opotiki natives, and he had felt it his duty to inform the Government officers of the fact. In consequence, the priest had been removed by his Bishop from the district, and a false report was circulated that he had been executed for his sympathy with the natives. "Kereopa," the Hau Hau leader, insisted that retaliation was required by the Deity; the natives were wrought up to a pitch of savage fanaticism, and this good and faithful Missionary was then hung. He was the first New Zealand martyr amongst the Europeans, and his death occurred during the time of reaction, when the old kindly feeling towards the Missionaries had been shaken by the land disputes with colonists, and all Europeans were looked on with distrust, and while this feeling was intensified by the war, and augmented by fanaticism.

The case of Mr. Whiteley was somewhat different, and probably the precise facts will never be known. He was a Wesleyan Missionary at New Plymouth, a good and faithful man, much esteemed by both Europeans and Maoris. It was his habit to make a tour to the north of New Plymouth, the farthest point being a redoubt at White Cliffs, where he held a service with the small European garrison. This garrison had been surprised and put to death by a party of the Hau Hau fanatics. As Mr. Whiteley rode towards the redoubt the captors at first warned him off; but as he continued to advance they fired upon him and killed him. The body was left as it fell, and the perpetrators escaped. This was an act of savage warfare, and evidently was not a murder of a Missionary on account of his Missionary character. Possibly a mistake, in any case a thing of which the perpetrators were ashamed, as they endeavoured to throw the blame on others.

It is true that the Wesleyan Mission Station at Whangaroa was destroyed in 1827, and the Missionaries and their families were obliged to take refuge at Paihia; but this was an incident in an inter-tribal war. The tribe, under whose protection they were, was defeated by Hongi, and according to Maori custom the pakehas under their protection were plundered and their premises burnt; but they themselves were not injured in any way; on the contrary, they were carefully guarded from harm in their sad journey to the Church of England Mission Station. These facts evidence not only the upright conduct of the Missionaries, but also that the natives, even in their heathen condition, were able to appreciate their disinterested kindness to them, and to respect and honour them accordingly.

This brief outline of the events which preceded the first attempts at colonization in New Zealand, and which accompanied those first efforts, mixed as they were unfortunately with conflicts between the settlers and the native race, show unmistakably that colonization only became possible after the greater part of the Maori race had embraced Christianity, and in doing so had abandoned their pagan customs and bloodthirsty savagery. In the unfortunate wars which disturbed the early period of colonization, the Christianized natives, when arrayed against us in what they deemed a just and patriotic contest for their rights, fought with a chivalry and generosity, combined with high courage, which elicited the admiration of the British troops. Eventually it was the Christianized friendly natives who were mainly instrumental in forcing the rest to submit to law and order.

It is clear also that the remarkable change in the Maori nation, which led to these results was brought about mainly by the efforts of the Church Missionary Society, who sent out and maintained at their expense that noble body of Missionaries, who by their example and teaching, and by the translation and circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the Maori language, won over the Maoris to Christianity. That Society has not yet ceased to take a lively interest in the nation which it has been the means of benefiting so highly in the past; but still expends a considerable sum annually in consolidating and extending the work of Evangelization amongst the Maoris. This expenditure is being gradually diminished, the directors of the Society considering that the funds entrusted to them are for distinctly Missionary work amongst those numerous heathen nations who are still ignorant of Christianity, and that the Maori race should soon be able to carry on the work of Christian training themselves, with the aid of the Europeans now settled in the country. The existing agencies in connection with the Church Missionary Society for the religious education of the Maori, and for building up the native church are the following:—

1. THE TRAINING COLLEGE AT GISBORNE, under the superintendence of Archdeacon W. L. Williams, the object of which is the theological training of students of the Maori race seeking ordination. This college is aided by Church Missionary Society funds.

2. THE NATIVE COLLEGE AT TE AUTE, under the management of Archdeacon S. Williams, which prepares Maori lads for the New Zealand University. In connection with the Church Missionary Society, but not aided by Church Missionary Society funds.

3. THE NATIVE GIRLS' SCHOOL AT NAPIER, superintended by the daughters of the late Bishop Williams. In connection with the Church Missionary Society, but not aided by Church Missionary Society funds.

The direction of the New Zealand Mission is now in the hands of a Mission Board, established by the Society in 1882, consisting of the three Bishops of the Northern Island, three Church Missionary Society Missionaries, and three laymen, with Archdeacon W. L. Williams as Secretary. The funds administered by the Board are the rents of

Mission lands, acquired for the most part in the early days of the Mission before the colony was founded, and which amount to about £1,000 per annum, together with contributions from the European and Native Churches, the latter averaging about a £1,100 per annum.

The following statistics (for 1886) are given by Dean Jacobs in his History of the Church in New Zealand; those for 1892 are added from the Church Missionary Society's annual report:—

	Auckland Diocese.	Waipapu Diocese.	Wellington Diocese.	Total. 1886.	Total. 1892.
Maori Population	18,872	16,269	4,435	39,576	
Number of Baptized (Church of England)	6,025	8,816	3,400	18,241	16,457
Communicants	1,270	740	552	2,562	2,805
English Clergy Ministering to Natives	4	6	2	12	13
Native Clergy	13	10	4	27	32
Native Voluntary Agents ..	151	188	41	380	361
Native Church Contributions ..	£534	£318	£618	£1,470	£1,113

There are 40 Church Missionary Society stations in the North Island, of which 22 are in the Auckland Diocese, 14 in that of Waipapu, and 4 in the Wellington Diocese. There is a locally supported Mission to the Maoris in the South Island, established at Christchurch, the agents being one European and one native clergyman.

In addition to the Mission Board above referred to, the Maoris have their own Native Church Boards, which are subordinate to the Diocesan Synods. These have proved to be very useful, as they enable the Maori clergy and lay delegates to meet and discuss their own Church affairs; thus uniting together the Christian Congregations.

The statistics above given do not include Wesleyans or Roman Catholics, each of whom have some thousands of adherents amongst the Maoris. The Mormons have also made some proselytes of late years. Hau Hau-ism is practically extinct. In the King Country, westward of the Waikato River, heathenism still largely prevails, while two rival systems of religion—Te Kooti-ism and Himiona-ism—both travesties of Christianity, have a considerable number of followers in the Bay of Plenty district, and back to the Urewere Country; but the old inter-tribal wars and cannibal customs are now unknown, and all are loyal subjects of the Crown.

New Zealanders, whether Maori or European, owe a lasting debt of gratitude to that great Missionary Society which has given the Gospel to the Maoris, and by its influence so changed the character of that once savage race, that colonization became possible, and British energy has been able to metamorphose Maoriland into the New Zealand of to-day.

We owe a debt of gratitude—but how can it be paid? Marsden is dead; the brothers Williams are dead; and nearly all their brave and noble associates in the work of evangelizing the Maoris, and so opening

the door for colonization have passed away. "They rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." But, after all, they were but obeying the command of Him who himself set the example of Missionary work, and left to his followers the standing orders, "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." This is the only payment we can make—to obey this command, either in person or by helping others to go. None of us who, here in New Zealand, are reaping the benefits of Missionary work can possibly doubt its value and reality. There are many channels into which such efforts may be directed; many Societies have been formed to carry out Missionary work. The greatest is the Church Missionary Society, to which we are primarily indebted, and which has a branch association at Nelson, the Secretary being the Rev. F. W. Chatterton; but Wesleyan Missionaries too, if on a smaller scale, worked cordially with those of the Church Missionary Society, and deserve full recognition by New Zealanders; and each Christian Church has its special Missions. Perhaps the still heathen tribes of the Maori race, and their kindred, the Polynesian races in the Pacific Islands, have a first claim upon us. But New Zealand and Melanesia are not all the world, and the command extends to all the world. In obeying that command, English Missionaries came to this farthest part of the world; there were then, as there are now, Missions in Africa, Asia, and America. But whether we confine our sympathies to one Mission, or extend them to two or more, let us not lose our part in the great work, or in the great reward. "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty."



